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almost a jab of the blade into the water, used when a sudden spurt of speed is required to take advantage of a following wave to shoot across the reef. In steering, the paddle is struck into the water as far away as possible and then pulled back through the water.

GESTURES AND EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIONS

Various conventional gestures are used for communication without speech. Affirmation (*aaetiko*) is expressed by raising the two eyebrows without moving the rest of the face. Used in answer to a negative question, the gesture indicates that the statement in the negative is correct. Doubt is expressed by screwing up the nose and mouth, wrinkling the forehead, at the same time nodding the head. A distant place or person is indicated by pointing with the forefinger. In beckoning to a person, the arm is flexed with the palm pointing toward the person addressed, and the fingers are closed against the palm and quickly opened. The motion is repeated if necessary. Height is indicated by the outstretched arm, palm pointing to the ground. The size of a fish is always indicated by marking off its approximate length with the fingers of one hand on the other arm. A gesture of insult consists in pointing the fundament toward the person insulted; at times the gesture is accompanied with words like "Tau kamokano" (Your anus). Pointing and shaking of the forefinger accompanies the hurling of verbal insults at another person. Other attitudes which occur in story telling are mentioned elsewhere (1). Concentration or the exertion of intense physical effort is marked by semi-protrusion of the tongue, grinding of the teeth, or contorting of the face. Shyness or embarrassment in the presence of white people is shown by women and children turning away the head, or lowering the head and covering the mouth, nose, and lower part of the face by the palm and spread-out fingers of the hand. No man was ever observed displaying this gesture. Naked children who become suddenly self-conscious at the approach of a white person cover the genitals with the hand.

Display of affection is marked by pressing the nose against another person's face or other part of the body, at the same time inhaling (*yongi*) through the nose. The nose is often applied to the back of the hand of a white person. An excellent account of leave-taking after a visit is given in detail in the story of Te Malo and Totoloa (1). The common greeting on the road is "Ka wano koe ki wea?" (Where are you going?). The person addressed answers in detail or in evasion according to his inclination.

Sneezing is a sign that someone elsewhere is talking about the sneezer, probably in a gossipy or scandalous fashion. Yawning merely expresses bodily fatigue.

Both men and women are noticeably given to the habit of leaning against each other in close bodily contact on every occasion. A group of men stand-

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5. *The absorbing organ of the cotyledon (uto) of the nut at the uto stage is eaten raw (uto mata)* with a *hinahi* of the *ipiipi* flesh that surrounds the *uto* or is baked (*uto tao*) without being removed from the shell.

6. A recipe (probably an importation from the Cook Islands) was given for *uto poi*. Baked *uto* is removed from the shell and pounded with the *tuhi* in a *kumete* until soft, then coconut liquid of the *niu mata* or *niu kakahalo* is added to the soft *uto* and the whole thoroughly mixed and eaten.

7. A dish called *yami* was prepared in former times by allowing the flesh of a drinking nut at the *niu matamatomato* or *niu mata* stage to rot in sea water for 5 to 10 days or until the flesh was thoroughly decayed. Coconut cream was mixed with the flesh, the whole was baked, and *yami*, a thick, sour, creamy food resulted. Tradition states that *yami* was the favorite food of the Yayake people when they lived on Motu Ko and was served by them with a *hinahi* of *liholiho* talo pudding.

8. From the nut at the *yakali* or *niu papaku* stage is obtained the *ipiipi*, a common *hinahi* for fish or other foods in the absence of talo. From this *ipiipi* also is made *lolo* (coconut cream). The nut is split into two and grated (*vulu*) on the grater (*tuai*). The *ipiipi* is grated either finely or coarsely, depending on the excellence of the grater, whether the teeth are perfect and closely set or imperfect and irregularly spaced. To grate finely is *vulu vakalilihi;* to grate coarsely, *vulu vakapatapata*. These two types of grating are merely the characteristic results of particular *tuai* and are not related to the preparation of special dishes. It is desired at all times to avoid coarse grating: in proportion as the grating is coarse, the amount of *lolo* wrung from the gratings is less; and the finer the grating, the more the *lolo*. The gratings are picked up in the wringer of coconut husk fibers (*tauanga*) and wrung (*huku*) into wooden bowls or coconut shells. The refuse (*ota*) left in the wringer after the oil is expressed is thrown away.

COCONUT OIL

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Coconut oil is used as a hair beautifier and skin perfume. To rub oil into the hair is *omoomo*; to perfume the skin, *pani*. Oil was used mainly in the evening after bathing, when the day's work was finished. The three kinds of coconut oil are made as follows:

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1. *Valikonga: yakali* flesh is grated and wrung out into a coconut cup; shredded leaves and flowers of sweet-scented plants are added to give fragrance; according to preference, *tiale*, *nau*, *nonu*, or *mailo* leaves and flowers are used. The preparation is baked over night in the oven and is ready for use the next day.

2. *Vinu tuto: yakali* flesh is grated; leaves and flowers are added; the gratings are not wrung out but are placed in a coconut shell and exposed to direct sunlight for two or three days or until the gratings disintegrate and the oil separates; the oil is then wrung out into a shell. A hot stone previously fired in the oven is dropped into the oil, which is allowed to cool before being used.

3. *Vinu takataka tuto:* the flesh of the *takataka* nut, which can not easily be grated, is rubbed (*olo*) on the *papa takataka* rubbing stone. Flowers are added to the rubbings and the whole is wrung out and placed in the sun until the oil disintegrates. It is then fired with a hot stone.

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All types of oil are considered equally desirable. A woman makes the one she prefers. The most common is *valikonga*, as *yakali* nuts are more readily available than *takataka* nuts. The importance of oil to the Pukapukans is well brought out in the stories and chants, where the lover always makes a careful toilet with oil before leaving the house.

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in the shape of a cone on top of the head. *Welo* bark was wrapped round the forehead, and the wrapping continued round the cone of hair to the apex. A single piece of turtle shell fastened to the headband stood up in front of the wrapped turbanlike cone. Long *wuti welo* streamers were fastened to the tip of the turtle shell, falling back over the top of the cone to blow out in the wind.

The headdress of Yamaunga was also called *aumanga*, but was associated with Te Maungatu and Talitonganuku. It consisted of the *welo* headband base to the front of which was fastened a piece of turtle shell cut in a conventional representation of a fish-tail (like a Tau cross with an inverted cross member). To the cross member of this turtle-shell cross were tied *welo* streamers at four equidistant intervals. At equal spaces round the headband were fastened four strips of turtle shell, each 6 inches high. To the tip of each piece of turtle shell was fastened one *welo* streamer.

ORNAMENT AND DECORATION

Ornaments and body decorations of shell, leaves, and flowers are worn round the waist, over the shoulders, suspended from the ears and hair, on occasions when the Pukapukan man or woman feels the call to beautify the body—for formal festive occasions, or informally whenever flowers and leaves are at hand. Tattooing and body painting were unknown in Pukapuka. There are no discoverable references to them in chants or stories.

Almost every leaf or flower on the atoll may be worn at one time or another by man, woman, or child as a chaplet (*taumato*), necklace (*yei*), or waist decoration (*titi*). Women seldom return from the talo gardens without a few leaves or flowers stuck in their hair or fastened about the waist as a rough girdle. Men serving as guards or working in the bush always find time to make for themselves a chaplet or necklace of leaves. Children stop in their play to make themselves little foliage decorations. Young people, bound for lovers' meetings on moonlight nights, oil their bodies and hair with sweet-scented coconut oil and make themselves necklaces of *tiale* flowers.

Village Decorations

For public festivals, such as those celebrating the winning of a sports contest, each of the three villages has its own characteristic foliage for decorative kilts, chaplets, and shoulder bandoliers. The people of Ngake make their decoration of *muko wala* (the white heart leaves of the pandanus), *lakau yili*, *taumakomako*, or *pala puka*; the people of Loto make decorations of banana leaves (*lau wuti*); the people of Yato, of coconut leaves or the *maile* fern. Decorations of these leaves are distinctive signs (*mailongo*) of the respective villages. Waist decorations (*titi*) are worn over the customary basis garment.

The *titi muko wala* (kilt of white leaves of pandanus) is made by stripping young leaves from the pandanus tree. Spikes are trimmed from each leaf and the leaf is split in two lengthwise. Each leaf is white for most of its length shading to a pale green at one end. A plain strip of prepared pandanus (*lito*) is used as a basis girdle. The worker lays the girdle on the ground, takes one leaf and fastens the green end to the

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831 person to another in sexual intercourse. If a sick woman has intercourse
753 with a man she gives him her sickness because, in native theory, her secretions
833 (*vair uu*) enter into his internal organs by absorption through the penis. Diseases that are spread in this way are mainly swelling in various parts of the body, but pains in the stomach and other minor ailments may also be communicated. A married couple with children rarely have intercourse within the sleeping house, not because they object to the children's seeing them, but because of the danger in possible contact of the child with secretions on mats, which would give the child illness and limb swelling.

834 Various terms are applied to individuals who show peculiarities in sexual behavior. An impotent individual is a *tangata maluelu*, which also means a person lazy or slow in economic activities. A man who changes mistresses frequently is a *tangata maka wawine* (thrower away of women). It is said of him: "I te wakapau wawine" (He is a woman waster or finisher). An over-sexed man or woman is *uio toto* (bloody teeth) or *kai vaka* (canoe eater). Of the promiscuous (*win eia*) woman it is said: "Ko tuku wua i tona wu yaka yua" (She places her vagina at anyone's disposal to be poured into). A husbandless woman who runs after married men is *lakau taetae* (stick or penis gatherer). A man or woman who settles down after a period of freedom to a monogamous existence is described as *na win* (having had enough).

839 Perversions, in the sense of sexual practices that take the place of sexual intercourse, are probably unknown in Pukapuka. This is without prejudice to acts or feeling attitudes that may accompany ontogenetic character development in the strict analytic sense but which, even if they occur, may not
838 properly be classed as perversions. There is no word in Pukapukan speech
159 to indicate homosexuality, nor could informants say that it ever occurred. At present there is one youth in Yato village who is said to *makawawine* (be like a woman):

[521 161] Between 16 and 17 years old, he appears fully developed physically but has a rather effeminate high-pitched voice. He wears men's clothes. He does not stroll about the village as do other young men who congregate first in one open house, then in another, for gossip. He keeps very much to his own house lot, where he is often in the company of women. He performs general women's work, makes plaited and beaded objects, sews more than is usual for a male, and cooks. He also does a little men's work, fishing, nut gathering and husking, and sennit making. He occasionally wrestles with other men but does not participate in most sports. Peculiarities in his behavior are noticed by fellow villagers but not commented upon openly. He still attends school and is popular with his schoolmates. He showed the greatest possible reserve in our presence and we were unable to become friendly with him.

832 There is no evidence of the use of love magic. Informants with whom
833 the matter was discussed thought the idea absurd. Their attitude was that it was not difficult for any man to secure a mistress; there was then no use for special magical techniques. With their concept of sex as a play activity,

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832 informants felt any woman is just as interested in playing as a man, and
833 apart from natural antipathies no difficulty arises in securing favors from the woman of one's choice.

832 The only account in the folk tales of what may be interpreted as the use
539 of love magic occurs in the story of an oversexed and greedy man named Vavaka, priest of the god Te Atua Vaelua:

> Vavaka was extremely fond of grated green nut flesh (*niu kalokalo*) and spent each day making large quantities of the food. This became a matter for ridicule by the women and girls of the community, who would pass by his door making fun of him and his food. Vavaka resolved to have his revenge upon the women. When night fell, he went to gather *nau*, *uetea*, *koupua*, and *tiale* flowers, brought them to his house, and made "the thing" for his god (*nusi aka te mea a tona atua*). He gave the preparation (*uainga*) to his god and prayed: "O Vaelua, take you the spirit of the woman here, she is a difficult woman, a woman besides, who dislikes me. You take her to your fragrant isles (*o nuku kakaio*) to tame her spirit (*unkaiata i tona manii*) so that your priest here may go and try to wake her by his shaking, and if she wakes not, then let your priest have intercourse with this woman." Later in the night Vavaka went to the woman. He enjoyed her and when he left he said, "Ongalonga!" (There, I have got even with you). On other nights Vavaka visited other women who had shamed him. Then he desired married women, and again he prayed to his god to take the spirit of the married woman and her husband to the fragrant isles, so that he could sleep with the woman without her knowledge. Vavaka finished his prayer and ran to the house of the woman. With his knife of *pale* jawbone he slit the mosquito net in the region of the woman's genitals and enjoyed her. Then he boasted as before, "Ongalonga e te tama kaungata" (I have got even with the difficult child). Then in after days Vavaka would meet and taunt the women saying, "Even though you just walk on the land, my fishhook (for catching women) is large enough to catch you."

The magic employed in this story seems to have consisted of a gift of fragrant flowers to the god, the implication being that the god would lull the senses of the intended victim with the scent of the flowers, or else, more obscurely, that the god would transport the spirit of the victim to an island where the scents were as fragrant as the flowers. The lovemaking of Vavaka was crude and wild, but he was animated only by motives of revenge for ridicule cast at him.

831 A study of the chants (1) indicates that although sex is treated in
832 Pukapuka with extreme realism, nevertheless the sexual relation is not one
193 of crude realism. Feelings of affection and beauty enter into relations between the sexes, and in the love chants (*kupu*) the composer is always at
[833] pains to indicate his feelings for his mistress by a variety of metaphors:

> The woman, for example, is compared to beautiful white pearl-shell fishhooks, she is as straight and beautiful as a perfect canoe log, she is as handsome as foreign people and as fair, she is as beautiful as the flowering buds of the coconut tree or the scarlet flowers of the *wakawawa* tree; her body is fat as the delicious albacore fish. Again, her skin is as smooth and shiny as the side of a new canoe adzed by the expert, the *tiava* marks on her skin are like the rows of morning stars, her eyebrows are fashioned smooth as the feathers of the tropic bird, the inside of her thighs is bright as the flash of lightning or the gleam of the moon, her voice is like the beautiful crying of the white "rat" (cat). Associations of the genitals of the man or the woman with beautiful objects

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abound in the chants. The pubic hair is said to be soft and dark, like the feathers of the tropic bird; it is smooth, black and indistinct like a grove of trees seen from afar. The woman's genitals are compared to the inside of a well-made canoe, to delicious fish flesh, to other symbolic objects of the environment. The penis is likened to a hot burning sun, or to a beautiful gold-lipped pearl-shell hook which is entrapped by the jaws of a fish. Some of these comparisons may appear far-fetched or slightly ridiculous to the European reader, but there is no reason to believe that the Pukapukan lover does not gain genuine pleasure from the association of lovemaking with objects which to him are things of great beauty and give rise to aesthetic feelings.

INTERCOURSE

According to Molingi, sexual intercourse occurs equally by day and by night. Most adulterous intercourse is by day. While a woman is at work, her husband goes off to the bush on some excuse; while her husband fishes, a woman goes to the bush, ostensibly to get talo, but also to meet a lover. Before arranged meetings the lovers bathe, cover the body with sweet-scented oil, and adorn themselves with sweet-smelling leis. Often they meet on a section of the outer beach after dark. To make a lover's bed (*lava*) among the bushes that fringe the beach, they strip coconut-leaf midribs from a tree, split them into two, and place the half midribs on the ground with the leaflets pointing inward, the midribs lying on the outside. Leaves of the *ngaya* bush or *koteva* fern may also be used for the *lava* bed. If lovers meet at the same place frequently, they leave there a coconut-leaf mat (*takapau*) to be used instead of the rough bed of leaves.

Informants knew of no physical stimulants which might be used for heightening sexual excitement. Foreplay in the sexual act is described in the love chants (1). These chants also give the most elaborate native terminology for all phases of the sex act. The couple sit facing each other, the man with his legs folded under him, the woman with her legs resting on his thighs. In intercourse the man lies on top of the woman. Chanting before or after copulation, as part of the fore- or after-play, is a well-established phase of the sex experience. Old women all agreed that chanting should not accompany the sex act, but they felt that it should take place before the act; in this opinion they were supported by men informants. A group of younger women held strongly that chanting should be after the act. Undoubtedly both views represent current practice, but the opinion of old women may refer to a more general situation in former times. Both lovers chant together an old love song, or the man chants one of his own composition to his mistress.

After intercourse, for the sake of cleanliness and to remove from the person all traces of intercourse before proceeding back to the village, the woman always, and usually also the man, bathes in the sea.

The coming together of more than two people at the same place for the enjoyment of sexual relations was common in Pukapuka. Groups of young

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dren by various lovers after she realizes her cultural position. She will live with relatives who will welcome the arrival of her children and will care for them with every attention. Her status without a husband in the community will hardly suffer, and she will not be morally condemned in any way. Her lovers will be unmarried or divorced or widowed men. As long as she does not welcome married men to her arms, she will remain a respected member of the group. Only if she becomes a husband stealer (*lakau taetae*) is she likely to run up against the intense disapproval of the married women.

A bachelor is referred to by the descriptive phrase, *kili pipilo* (bad-smelling skin), or *kiko kakava* (bitter flesh). There is no name for the bachelor status in relation to marital life, and such a status is outside the norm. Two very old men, one in Ngake, one in Loto, have never married; and one man in Yato of about 35 years is still unmarried. Besides these three there are only two deaf-mute males who will not marry. Of the two old men, informant felt that there was perhaps some truth in the descriptive phrases used of them. The younger bachelor helps to support his married sister and her large family; he may yet marry. There is no suggestion that any of these men is not normal psychologically or physically.

COURTSHIP

Patterns of courtship differ when individuals have in view a permanent relationship leading to marriage and when they intend a semi-permanent liaison or the pleasure of an evening only. Patterns also differ for relations between two unmarried persons and between a married person with one other than the socially recognized spouse.

A young man or woman is expected to enter into a temporary liaison as soon as he or she has completed the adulthood rite. In fact, one informant, Iti, stated that the girl's rite itself included the girl's first sexual experience.

The regular parading of the girls in the evening up and down the village street on the look-out for lovers and possible marriage mates was apparently a common custom in the days before the curfew sounded in Pukapuka.

Some men preferred to arrange meetings with girls through an intermediary. This custom was not common. The intermediary was called *kalele* (messenger), *tangata tuku poloaki* (meeting arranger), or simply *toa* (friend). The friend visited the girl to give her the message (*poloaki*), naming the meeting place. Stories indicate that the use of an intermediary was often as dangerous as it was helpful to the lover's success.

Some permanent and semi-permanent liaisons are sealed by the exchange of gifts between the two lovers (*ipo*). These gifts are termed *wakatapu*, a word applied only to such presents. An intermediary effects the exchange, taking a present to the girl and receiving from her a gift of talo for her lover. The intermediary keeps some food for himself in payment for his

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595 587 riage of a man to his deceased wife's sister might be desired and actively encouraged by her family if he was regarded as a good man, a hard worker, a skilled fisherman, and one worth keeping attached to the family. Similar remarks apply to the levirate. A woman living at one time with two brothers is termed *wawine kai uale*. Informants believed that the woman and the brother not her husband would both die early deaths as punishment for the sin. In successive levirate, if the deceased husband had been generous (*atawai*) to them, the widow's family would urge her to marry the deceased's brother.

Personal Choice of Mate

581 Informants suggested that the following qualities were desirable when choosing a wife: beauty of body, breeding certainties, industry and skill at crafts, wealth in talo gardens and coconut trees. Some felt that obedience and a good reputation were important, others that an industrious and fruitful wife was a better choice than any other. Veti regarded it as immaterial how fruitfulness is proved, whether by a man's own effort or by the efforts of another lover and in this he expresses general opinion.

581 The cultural ideal of beautiful womanhood is in terms of averages only. 821 The ideal has: eyes wide apart, a high nose, small firm breasts, a well filled-out body, medium thick lips, and curly or wavy hair. Add to these an aver- 832 age height (a short stature according to western standards), a physically strong and powerful body, light brown skin with an abundance of whitish *tinea* marks, and the ideal is complete. A man or a woman who is trying to win a mate will often make special efforts to beautify the body and to appear industrious, hoping that appearances will help to make the desired mate more sympathetic to the suit. This is termed *uakabume*.

Wedding

584 Formal courtship having been initiated by *uakatapu* gifts of food, ornaments, and other articles of value, marriage is discussed between the two young people.

583 585 When an agreement is reached, the matter is referred to their relatives. If both groups are agreed, the young man goes one evening to the girl's house, sleeps there with the girl, and stays until morning (*uahamolamo*). From his presence in the girl's household in the early morning, the people of the village know that the marriage (*uahoonga*) is accomplished. A young man not intending marriage might sleep with a girl in her house at night but would leave before dawn; this is called *taugotango* and 836 does not imply any obligations on either side.

584 A man set on marrying a girl who at first refuses him makes frequent and regular presents of fish, nuts, talo, even fishhooks, to her parents, and helps them at every opportunity in house building, canoe making, etc. The parents soon realise his object. They talk to their daughter, telling her she ought to marry the man. If the girl refuses, they give her a thrashing, saying that as they have accepted all the presents, they will be shamed before the whole island if she does not pay back this indebtedness. Willing or

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Deformity of the teeth was noticed in one man, about 55 years old, who possesses a double set of back teeth, presumably milk teeth and second set, growing side by side from the same gum. Two other very old men were noticed whose four front incisors inclined inward at an angle of about 45 degrees to the gum. I neglected to inquire whether this was due to accident or to the chewing of certain foods.

CARE OF THE BODY

Adults and children wash (*pulupulu*) their faces with fresh water on awakening in the morning, pouring water into the palm of the hand and so applying it to the face. Adults generally do not bathe (*tahele*) in the sea until evening, when they have a long bath and gossip with friends. When bathing in the sea by day, they now wear old clothes. Formerly a woman did not remove her kilt. After bathing she laid it out to dry and put on a spare one. Presumably men bathed in their malos. Today, as formerly, men and women bathe naked in the sea at night. A fresh-water rinse is taken after a sea bath when water is available. Coconut oil (*yinu*) was formerly always applied (*omoomo*) to the hair, face, and body after a bath to make the hair stand out and the skin shiny. Today it is applied only on special occasions, for it is not possible to spare coconuts to make sufficient oil for everyday use.

Delousing (*vakule se wutu*) is performed at any time by a girl for another girl or older woman, by a mother for a daughter. The lice (*wutu*) are killed by chewing. Presumably it was done for men, when they wore their hair long, by wives or other female relatives, but with their hair cut short, lice apparently present no problem to them. Small boys and some girls today have their hair cut very short as a prophylactic measure against lice and scalp infection. Grey hairs (*lau ulu yina*) are sometimes pulled out of a man's head by his wife. This is termed *wuti se yina*.

Body hair (*vuluvulu*) on man or woman was not removed but was considered an object of great beauty. At infrequent intervals a man removed the beard from his face by sawing at it (*valuvulu*, to scrape) with a knife of the jaw bone of the *palo* fish. Today most men shave (*valuvulu*) with a razor once a week before going to church.

Whitish blotches (*tonotono*) on the skin resulting from *tinea* infection were highly prized as making the skin more beautiful. The chants contain many references to this; a lover commonly praises the number and size of the blotches on the skin of his mistress.

Bodily hygiene of infants and children is discussed elsewhere (p. 276). Adults, like children, urinate (*mimi*) anywhere outside the house. Adults evacuate in the sea and clean themselves with a coconut husk or a stone and

539 Tutuila and Yikitia. Yikitia was a very strong woman. The men were weak, Yikitia was stronger. Next, Tutuila was a friend of Takatakai. Yikitia was a strange woman. Tutuila had desired her, had not succeeded in getting Yikitia. Tutuila went to her in his first night. He was refused by Yikitia. Finished that night. It came to another night. Tutuila went again to Yikitia, to wait for her. Again he was refused by Yikitia. The night became morning. Tutuila went crying to his friend, Takatakai, "What do you think? I can not get Yikitia. She pushed me away to places. Have you no technique for it?"

Takatakai answered, "I have a technique. Wait till night. You go to her. Smear your skin with the scent of the wau (flower). When you get there, Yikitia will repeatedly smell your skin. You smell her skin. When Yikitia makes a headrest for your head with her arm, you make a headrest for her head with your arm. When Yikitia smells your cheek, you smell her cheek too. (11) When Yikitia hits your chest, you hit her chest. When Yikitia laughs at you, you laugh at her. That is my technique."

Night fell. Tutuila went to Yikitia. His skin was finished being smeared with wau scent. It smelled like the skin of Takatakai. Yikitia smelled Tutuila, the skin smelled like the skin of her lover, Takatakai. Yikitia smelled the chest of Tutuila, Tutuila smelled the chest of Yikitia. Yikitia made a headrest for the head of Tutuila with her arm. Tutuila made a headrest for Yikitia with his arm. Finish. Yikitia smelled the nose of Tutuila. Tutuila also smelled the nose of Yikitia. Yikitia hit the chest of Tutuila. Tutuila also hit the chest of Yikitia. Yikitia thought, "This is certainly Takatakai. These are our techniques he performs here." Their feeling of each other being over, they hooked the anchor (copulated).

The night became day. Yikitia heard, "Fancy, indeed the person who came to you in the night was Tutuila." Yikitia's anger was exceedingly black with rage. There was no place for her to come (nothing for her to do about it). Tutuila stayed at the side of Takatakai. Yikitia was disgusted. It was a difficult situation. Finished is the story of Tutuila and Yikitia.

[832] 11. In this story, the Pukapukan word yongi has been roughly translated as "to smell". The yongi is the Pukapukan sign of affection. In greeting or farewell a friend presses his nose against the nose of another, smelling or inhaling as he does so. To show affection for a white friend, the Pukapukan inhales and then presses his nose against the while man's hand. In the intimacies of sexual play the nose may be used to inhale the odor of various parts of the body before being

Of Wekeli

539 [833] The Pukapukan attitude that the man is and should be the aggressor in initiating sexual experience is clearly brought out in this story of Wekeli where disregard of the pattern gives rise to unmistakable resentment.

Yia was a member of the paternal sublineage Kimuli, part of the larger lineage grouping of Tua. He was fascinated with a woman named Wekeli and arranged a love meeting with her under the cluster of yamuti trees at the point Matayauma on the islet of Kotawa. Wekeli carefully prepared for the meeting by bathing and oiling her skin with sweet-scented coconut oil. The lovers met. Wekeli was so pleased with her experience that she became very bold, asking Yia to meet her on another day. Yia was taken aback by this forward attitude and his resentment broke out: "You wretch, you bold person", he replied to Wekeli, "you are never satisfied. Do not come near me again. You have had all you will get. Your words sound bad, so bad that the men of the island, and the women too, would get angry if they knew of them."

Stories of adultery

538 817 762 The stories of adultery describe the supernormal or secular punishment for illicit sex relations and are an expression of the cultural patterning of the treatment of such conduct. The story of Tawaia is aberrant however; the narrator is at pains to make the point that the man who was strictly monogamous was something of an exceptional person in the Pukapukan society of the time. A surface disapproval of illicit sex relations is evidently accompanied by the knowledge that the ideal is too difficult to attain. It is clear from the stories that divorce or punishment by supernormal powers is sufficient punishment for adultery. When Te Anga in his anger punished his erring wife with every refinement of sadistic torture, his actions were subjected to general group disapproval, but no one, not even the family of the wife, considered it his duty to interfere between the man and his wife. This story also gives a good example of a person so shamed by some event that the only recourse left to preserve self-respect was suicide. Most of these stories are probably comparatively old. These characters who can be placed on a genealogical table belong to the period immediately after the seismic wave in the reigns of Maina, Tuliayanga, or Tuiva.

[832] 11. (continued) pressed against the flesh. There is no English word or concept into which the Pukapukan word yongi may be adequately translated.

[These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]

[539] 5. The reference to Yake and Yayake calls up the sexual plays and institutions for which these legendary lands are famous in Pukapukan history. Lapaiva and Langilili are the names of remembered household sections in Yayake.

6. The mulitana, throwing base, is a pit used in the game of composite dart (velo) throwing; see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 365-366, category 116--analyst]. The sexual symbolism is obvious.

[832] 7. Tinea infection of the skin produces large shapeless blotches lighter than the surrounding skin color. A skin so marked is considered beautiful and a lover is proud to compliment his mistress on her spotted skin.

[103] 8. Avalua or Avalua is an old name for the village of Loto, Wulia an open space on the Ngake side of this boundary.